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ABSTRACT

Theoretical constructs related to the spread of English, language policy and planning, and development education are examined. Development education is a special field that considers the relationship between education and development worldwide. Perspectives on the relationship of education to national development have greatly changed over the past 30 years. These varying perspectives are reviewed and future research in the field is considered. Language planning and language policy both influence language development. Language planning consists of coordinated measures to select, codify, and elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the results. Developing nations often cannot afford to spend scarce resources on language planning. Such political considerations influence language planning. Another major influence is related to the nature of language teaching itself. There is a close link between the ethical commitment of educators and their perceptions of their roles in the education process of developing nations. From the perspectives of native English speaking educators as well as nonnative speaker language educators, English language policy is a political and emotional issue. (RW)

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Development Education, Language Planning, and Language Policy: An Overview of the Fields with Respect to the Teaching of English

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Kim Brown
[redacted]
TESOL
TORONTO
1983

Every development strategy contains an implicit ethical strategy

Denis Goulet

Languages are rarely acquired for their own sake:
They are acquired as keys to other things that are desired.

Joshua Fishman

On the whole, EAL is more learned that used and more used than liked.

Joshua Fishman

Planners of any type are future-oriented people, usually looking towards the near future, and at times looking far down the road. In all fields, planners are called upon to "produce diverse demands in a manner that allows the attainment of a feasible and coherent sequence of objectives in a reasonable order of time." (Das Gupta, 1976:384) Language planners are no exception. Their work draws from an intricate web of disciplines in the social sciences: anthropology, sociology, linguistics, political science, and economics, to name but a few. Development planners in the early 1950's were convinced that their work to increase levels of education in various nations would produce more modern, economically "fit" societies. Students in areas like Malaysia, India, Nigeria, and Indonesia were encouraged to go on to university programs in their home countries and overseas if they could pass the Cambridge Certificate Exams in English.

Now in the 1980's, students in these same areas are encouraged, supported, and at times even forced to continue university study in their own languages. Unity and nationalism have become bonding issues in many nations. The imp lication of education programs in "official" languages other than English have been explored by a variety of authors.

Applied linguists like Rubin, Das Gupta, Jernudd, Fishman, Krachu, Tucker, and Strevens have advocated the development of a sound framework for language policy and language planning which addresses crucial issues including problems, rationales, and ethics.

Judd synthesizes much of their work and calls on ESOL instructors to take their recommendations seriously and to plan language programs more carefully in light of surrounding socio-political factors.(Judd, 1980)

Both Smith (1975) and Judd (1981) challenge the nomenclature used in the teaching of English. Baxter (1980) and Schreck (1982) call for changes in teacher training programs for non-native speakers of English. Baxter advocates teaching English literature written in nations other than the U.S. and Commonwealth countries.

It is clear that the English teaching profession has reached a crossroads. It has been documented that within ten years there will be more non-native speakers of English than native speakers of English. (Strevens, 1982) The role of English in the education systems of various nations, the role of native speaker expatriates in language programs in various countries, and methodologies of teacher training with respect to language learning may change greatly.

It is the intention of this paper to review these issues in detail, examining theoretical constructs which have been established with respect to development education, language policy and planning, and the spread of English.

Development Education

Development education is an area of specialization which has grown out of educational planning. It examines the relationship between education and development across the world. In an interdisciplinary framework, it "seeks to relate education to economy, polity, society, and culture...analytically, non-ethnocentrically, comparatively, and globally."(Textor, 1980:35)

In the late 1950's and early 1960's it drew heavily on literature focusing on economic development. Education was thus seen as a causal modernizing agent which made a direct contribution to a country's economic output as well as to social stability. (Rogers, 1969 and Walters, 1981) Critics of

this framework posit that in many countries, education is also used as a means to institutionalize control, maintain income structures, and to socialize the dependence of one class on another. (Carnoy, 1974 and Walters, 1981)

Authors like Meyer believe that investment in human resource development is the first step to raising a nation's GNP.(Meyer, 1973) Among other assumptions of academicians of this school are those of McLelland (1966)--that countries investing more money in education will develop faster, that high academic achievement is a predictor of economic growth, and that instrumental motivation and attainment of a high level of education guarantees high economic growth.

This model has been criticized by other development educators including Dadzie (1980) who points out that a purely economic analysis of education and development ignores other political and social considerations. He advocates strong human resource development. His analysis of process framework is similar to Bernudd's (1973) and other broad-based planning strategies. Other authors concentrate on this analysis of process notion, among them Walters (1981), who sees an inhibition of economic development caused by the dependent status of various developing nations on developed nations. Unlike development educators of two decades ago, Walters and other dependency theorists see no causal relationship between education and development. Neither do they believe that education can bring about independence or a break with colonialism. Rather, capitalist models of education development foster continuation of the status quo, with periphery elites carrying out management functions of multinational companies in host countries in a division of wealth that does not benefit the poor.

From strategies of dependency theorists have come strategies for non-aligned, non-dependent educational models in independent nation states. Authors of these strategies often call for strategies of "liberation". Issues of nationalism, unity, and equal opportunities for all people to learn in formal, non-formal, and informal settings dominate the literature. Among them, Julius Nyerere, Paolo Freire, Denis Goulet, and Ivan Illich advocate humanistic development goals with an ethical commitment:

1) All men must have enough in order to be human

2) Universal solidarity must be created

3) The populace must have the greatest possible voice in decisions affecting its destiny.

(Goulet, 1971:123)

Cardenas echoes the same thoughts in his goals for Nicaragua's literacy campaign:

> We believe that in order to create a new nation we must begin with an education that liberates people. Only through knowing their past and their present, only through understanding and analyzing their reality can people choose their future. Education therefore, must encourage people to take charge of their lives, to learn to become informed and effective decision makers, and to understand their roles as responsible citizens possessing rights and obligations. A liberating education nurtures empathy, a commitment to community, and a sense of self-worth and dignity. It involves people acquiring the knowledge, skills, attitudes necessary for their new community responsibilities. Education for liberation means people working together to gain an understanding of and control over society's economic, political, and social forces in order to guarantee their full participation in the creation of the new nation.

(Cardenal and Miller, 1981:6)

As development educators further refine their roles as planners and potential agents of change, Levin (1981) calls upon them to address certain political realities. He raises a number of crucial questions which are

skirted by those in the language teaching professions as well as by those in the development education field, perhaps because they are too painful, perhaps because they are too provocative. They merit full reproducation below. The questions are:

> Are educational planners supporters of reactionary forces or of social, economic, and political change? Are educational planners thoughtful professionals who carefully consider the consequences of their activities, or merely logistics experts or technocrats filling their portfolios with useless plans? To what degree does educational planning mirror the needs of multinational capital accumulation rather than the needs of national development? Is educational planning by its nature an antidemocratic activity that discourages participation by citizens and obscures the sources of their social, economic, and political problems? Is it possible to expand free enquiry and improve the quality of research in educational planning?
>
> (Levin, 1981: 93)

As if in response to such questions, other researchers in the education field have challenged the altruism and perceptions of Western planners and Western organizations of support to education such as UNESCO and the World Bank. Goulet states:

> Whatever be his formal intent, his cross-cultural sensitivity or his sophisticated use of protective devices to safeguard objectivity, any philosopher or social scientist will propound truths derived from limited personal cognitive experience in given cultural modes....If he is Indian, he cannot speak for Arabs. Nevertheless, he might possibly--in his best moments of sublime, flashing intuitions--manage to speak as a man.
>
> (Goulet, 1971: 12)

Further, Bishop Flores, cited in Lernoux (1981: 458) states:

> Education in the West has become a handmaiden of corporate production, of a bourgeois society, of a society bent on acquisition. Western education imprisons the affluent in a psychology of acquisitiveness and exclusivity of moral vision, and at the same time perpetuates the dominance of the affluent over the poor.

In Columbia, where heavy input from U.S. advisors has changed university climates and curriculum, Gonzalez (1981: 229) sees that the resulting reforms have been alien to the national interests of the country, "but correspond to the general interests of small, but powerful economic groups based in the U.S. (multinational banks, corporations, and businesses) and supported by the political weight of the State."

One such group is the World Bank. In support of Gonzales' criticism, in a paper more specifically related to language issues in education in developing nations, Treffgarne (1981: 163) states that the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper pays insufficient attention to current research in language policy and language planning, referring to "too many isolated aspects of language policy, yet ignoring the complex dimensions of both policy formulation and implementation." He further criticizes the failure of the paper to examine the role of language within the wider context of planning for national development.

From an historical view then, it can be seen that perspectives on the relationship of education to national development have changed greatly over the past thirty years. There has been a call for empirical research in country-specific areas which meets the needs of more than an elite group. The motives and roles of planning agencies and advisors who are not indigenous to a given country have been questioned.

In terms of future research in this area, Textor (1980: 36) challenges instructors, students, and planners to be less ethnocentric, as well as less tempocentric. He defines tempocentric as "a set of attitudes in which attention is focused upon an inappropriate time frame, resulting in inadequate attention to problems whose solution requires a different and usually longer time frame." (Ibid) He suggests that just as ethnographic data depends on a

"native" informant, so too, educational planners should not create an intellectual dependence on First World idealogy, but rather, planners in various nations need to examine their own countries' needs as expressed by their own people. Further, he goes on to indicate that these planners should not focus so consistently on five-year plans or less, but in contrast, should begin to base predictions on an anticipation of what he calls "middle-range events" and "longer futures in broad systemic and cultural terms." (Ibid: 37)

We see that educational planners can play a role in national development, but that education itself is no longer considered to be a prime causal factor in modernization. Rather, we see a plea for external and internal advisors/ planners to look at specific needs of all members of a society with respect to present and long-term needs.

Language planners such as Das Gupta have commented on this same phenomenon: he explains that the prodess of modernization in developing nations has been "externally introduced rather than internally induced." He sees political authorities as key agents of change: "The task of national development has inevitably meant that the political authorities had to act as conscious agents for national language promotion and development." (1968: 18) Das Gupta and Jernudd see a link between modernization and demands for standardization and language change. (1971: 203)

Mackey acknowledges the political function of policy makers:

> Today in all quarters of the globe, developing nations are struggling with the language development problems inherent in the application of their language policies. While language planning is a scholarly activity, language policy is part of the political process. For this process, the pragmatic politician may be better for the country than the doctrinaire linguist. Instead of putting the language technicians on top, it might be wiser therefore to simply keep them on tap.
>
> (1979: 53)

With this somewhat cursory overview of development education, its aims and perceptions, it becomes possible to look at the more specific issues raised above, those of language development, language planning, and language policy. First, a definition of terms is in order. From there, the paper will examine critical issues in language planning and will look at the relationship of these issues to implemenation of policy in Nigeria, Japan, and the Philippines, with respect to the role of English.

The examination of terms must occur in the light of six general questions posed by Rubin (1973: 1 - 10)

1. What are language problems?
2. Why plan language?
3. What does language planning consist of?
4. Is language planning restricted to government bodies?
5. Is language planning restricted to developing nations?
6. Is there some productive way in which to compare types of treatment of language problems?

Language Development, Language Planning, and Language Policy

Mackey incorporates both language planning and language treatment into his understanding of language development. (1979: 51) Jernudd states that language development involves "decisions concerning the standardization and unification of language use." (Rubin and Shuy, 1973: 16) Fishman states that language development occurs when language functions

> undergo real or anticipatory expansion as a result of the expanded role repertoires...of those for whe m these languages have become too symbolic of group membership and of group goals to be easily displaced.
>
> (Fishman et. al., 1968: 9)

We see that there is a relationship betweenthe social component of developing languages, societal development, and language development. (Ibid:10)

From this notion of development in education and development in language we can now move to an examination of language planning: what it is, and what its relation to language policy is.

Language planning consists of "coordinated measures taken to select, codify, and in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to desseminate the corpus agreed upon." (Gorman in Rubin and Shuy, 1973: 73) It incorporates "a conscious and predictive approach to changes in language and language use." (Rubin and Shuy, 1973: v) It is often considered a means of attaining stability. (Fishman, 1972:33) It consists of "the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common, regional, national, or international languages." (Tauli, 1968:27) It has two primary ingredients: choice of language and language development, and these include literacy improvement and language standardization. (Garvin in Rubin and Shuy, 1973: 29)

Jernudd and Das Gupta define language planning within a broader social, political context. It is ..." a political and administrative activity for solving language problems." (in Rubin and Jernudd, 1971:196) In a later paper, Das Gupta isolates three steps in the languageplanning process: valuation of language resources, planning for developing the preferred language, and finally, the promotion function, or what he calls "extensive systems of training, inventives, and sanction". (Das Gupta, 1976: 383)

Neustupny incorporates in language problems, both language code and speech problems (in Fishman et al., 1968: 287) He suggests that a planning framework may incorporate an examination of particular features of a language code in relation to its motivation of other patterns, and recommends that in any planning situation, that a needs assessment be done in order to

describe and evaluate particular features of communication in a given language. (Ibid: 288 - 291)

These problems can be extra-linguistic, semi-linguistic, or linguistic. (Rabin, 1971: 3) Extra-linguistic problems concern language usage and competition between language blocks. Semi-linguistic aims include vocabulary development, standardization, and style. As language planners forecast potential consequences of choice of a particular language, they engage in activities which can often be ethnocentric or tempocentric. (Textor, 1980: 36) Rubin and Jernudd reinforce this notion, supporting Treffgarne's earlier comment regarding the state of the art of education planning (see p. 6):

> We still do not know how language planning actually operates: what are the goals that planners have considered, what motivates their considerations of particular goals, and their acceptance of certain goals...and what does in fact happen? We do not know in any detail just how well the abstract notions thus far delineated correspond to realities of language planning.
>
> (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971: xxii)

Yet, strong planning should involve at least five items:

1. A degree of precision in definition of objectives
2. A realistic appraisal of possibilities with regard to
3. Resources available and necessary for
4. Attainment of proposed objectives over a given amount of time
5. With provision for evaluation or quantification of data

(Gorman in Rubin and Shuy, 1973: 73)

Perhaps responses to the third question of whether or not language planning is a legitimate process can be found in Levin (see p. 5) This notion of who is supporting the planning and for whose needs is crucial to any discussion of the legitimacy of the planning process. An examination of how and why certain goals are considered also leads us to an examination of language policy.

Mackey states that language policy is a "branch of the politics of accomodation which in recent years has taken on a life of its own." (1979: 49) Neustupny (in Fishman et. al, 1968: 292) is more specific. He suggests four criteria be examined in relation to any language policy: development, democratization, unity, and foreign relations. He asks whether a particular feature contributes to the development of a society in more than economic terms, whether that feature is favorable to the creation of equal opportunities for all members of the society, whether the feature reinforces the unity of the society in question, and whether it acts as a potential communication obstruction with other specific communities.

Das Gupta (in Fishman et. al., 1968: 49) suggests that language policy deals specifically with conflict resolution between numerous languages. Mackey examines a particular function of language policy, that of equal status for minority languages. (Mackey, 1979: 49) He explains that this examination includes a determination of implication of the particular status of a language, as well as the limits, rights, and obligations of the parties involved. In terms of a resolution of the question, Mackey sees two conflicting elements: what he calls the principle of <u>personality</u> in which the state makes accomodations to an individual's language preference, and the principle of <u>territoriality</u>, in which the individual accomodates to the state language.

If a given language <u>is</u> imposed, as in the case of Mackey's territoriality, Das Gupta hypothesizes that the status of the language imposed and its relation to other languages used will determine whether the policy will succeed or not. He explains:

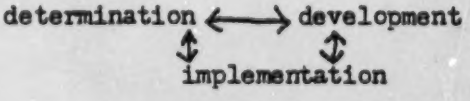
> Imposition in most cases has purchased political discipline at the cost of the alienation of social groups from the political authority. In doing this, what is usually gained in point of temporary stability is generally lost in point of political integration.
>
> (in Fishman et. al., 1968: 23 -4)

Das Gupta's ideas become particularly important with respect to the spread of English as an exoglossic and as an endoglossic language. (see p.13)

Neustupny lists five policy problems: selection of the national language, standardization, literacy, orthographies, and stratification problems. These problems all focus on language code problems rather than problems of what he calls "cultivation". In contrast to policy problems, these problems involve questions of correctness, efficiency, linguistic levels fulfilling specialized functions, problems of style, and constraints on communicative competence. (Neustupny, 1970: 3)

As can no doubt be seen from the division of policy and cultivation problems, the policy problems relate most specifically to what Neustupny calls "less developed (socioeconomically) speech communities, while the cultivation problems relate most specifically to industrialized societies." (Rubin and Shuy, 1973: 4)

Jernudd states that language policy actually involves issues of language determination, which he defines as "decisions concerning the functional distribution of language varieties in a community." (Rubin and Shuy, 1973: 16). He sees a two-way relationship between language determination and development as well as implementation. He indicates the relationship in the following diagram:



(Ibid: 17)

He explains that the term implementation refers to "(decisions concerning the (more or less systematic) attempts to influence language use by propagating the results of decisions on language determination and development." (Ibid: 16)

In perhaps the earliest and least elaborate model of language planning/ policy, Haugen sees:

	Initiation	Implementation
Linguistic form	selection of a norm	codification of a norm
Linguistic function	elaboration of function	acceptance by intended population

(Haugen, 1966: 2)

Haugen, like other authors sees a clear distinction between implementation and initiation and planning.

In the general relationship between language and nation, Kloss states that four elements are important:

1. The type of state the country in question is, or purports to be with regard to the language, or languages serving its government for national official purposes
2. The developmental status of a specific language spoken within the boundaries of the state in question
3. The juridical status of the speech community
4. Its relative numerical strength

(Fishman et. al., 1968:70)

Juridical status refers to a categorization of languages within a nation as one of five types: official i.e. "the only official language" as determined by the government; regional official, i.e. one of co-equal national official languages; a regional language, promoted by the government but not official; a promoted or tolerated language; or finally proscribed, i.e. use of the language by its native speakers "may be restricted to the four walls of their homes, it conceivably being dangerous to use it on the streets or over the telephone."

(Kloss, op. cit: 79)

If a language is chosen as an official language, it may be what Garvin calls exoglossic, i.e., a language of wider communication used as an official language in the country (e.g. English in the Philippines); or it

may be endoglossic, i.e., an in-country language serving as the national language (e.g. Tagalog in the Philippines). (Fishman et. al, 1968: 71) If an endoglossic language is chosen, it may be due to unification needs or nationism. Nationism problems may include quick language choice or widespread literary language use. Major problems of nationalism include language maintenance, reinforcement, and enrichment. If an exoglossic language is chosen as the official language, it may be due to a recognition of the need of a nation to participate in world-wide communication network, or it may by that a language of wider communication is the only language which is somewhat neutral. Finally, it may simply be part of a colonial legacy.

Fishman explains that the notion of nationism involves "the cluster of behaviors-beliefs-values pertaining specifically to /the/ acquisition, maintenance, and development of...politically independent territoriality." (1972: 5) Nationalism involves "the organizationally heightened and elaborated beliefs attitudes, and behaviors of societies acting on behalf of their avowed ethnocultural self-interest."(Ibid) Using Baron (1947) as a reference, Fishman goes on to explain nationalism as an "essentially conscious or organized ethnocultural solidarity which may or may not then be directed outside of its initial sphere toward political, economic, and religious goals. (Ibid: 4)

The relationship between the two units then is that language policy focusing on nationism "ultimately also helps form the new nationalism just as surely as a successful language policy focused on nationalism also helps form and maintain the new nation....Nationalisms pursue language reinforcement and maintenance rather than selection per se. For the nationist, however, language choice is a matter of calculated effectiveness." (Ibid: 4)

Fishman sees that some of the newer nations will need to emphasize nationism, and not nationalism. He sees a situation where they will have a language policy of diglossia, i.e., recognizing two languages as official languages with each having its own "functionally exclusive domains" (Fishman, 1972:43), with one of the languages serving an exoglossic function, and most likely to be French or English. The importance of this prediction will be discussed further in the final portion of this paper, which deals with the spread of English.

From the above discussion, we have seen that the notion of whether or not language can be planned revolves around its position in terms of the nationhood of a given area. "New" nations often cannot afford the luxury of examining lnaguage problems in Neustupny's "cultivation" category, but rather, are pressed into constant resolution of language policy problems. Language policy is the implementation stage of planning. Politicians are to a large degree the implementors. Language policy and political realities of various nations cannot be divorced from each other. Language policy as reflected in development plans of various nations is controlled by what Das Gupta refers to as "technocratic assumptions" on the part of planners. Thus we see development still measured in terms of national product, and a somewhat arbitrary choice of targets to implement. (Das Gupta, 1976: 387)

Language Policy and the Teaching of English as a Second or Other Language

Just as these policy decisions cannot be divorced from political situations, so too, they cannot be divorced from language teaching. Judd stresses this point in his reminder to ESOL instructors that

> The sensitive and controversial issuesof politics and its effects on TESOL ought to be discussed in professional forums since language policy, in part, will shape the instructional strategies and materials that will be implemented in TESOL programs and the failure to evaluate the effectiveness of many TESOL programs.
>
> (Judd, 1978: 75)

He explains:

> Regardless of the case or the motive behind the way English is considered, the teaching of English as a native, foreign, or second language is a reflection of language policy. Stated in another another way, English language instruction is influenced by the policy that any country makes and its teaching must be viewed in that light.
>
> (Judd, 1978: 76)

Before examining the implications of Judd's statements in detail, a little more information is necessary to distinguish internal and external functions of English with respect to a given nation. We have seen the notion that colonial legacies have left French and English with vestigial roles in various nations as official, national, regional, and/or promoted languages. More specifically, these languages serve as languages of wider communication which Fishman defines as

> any language widely used as a second or additional language, thus subsuming, for the time being, international languages, lingua francas, vehicular languages, contact languages, and other intergroup communication varieties....
>
> (Fishman, 1977: 127)

This term is often applied to the role of English in various nations. Other terms have been suggested to delimit other functions of English. Smith proposes English as an International and Intranational Language (1975).

Judd posits four functions: ESL, EAL, ELWC, and EEL. He defines them as follows: ESL--English as a Second Language--occurs in a situation where "non-native speakers spend a vast majority of their time communicating in English"

EAL--English as an Additional Language--occurs when "speakers learn English after they learn another primary language and use it for the purpose of communicating with others who have different primary languages.

ALWC-- English as a language of Wider Communication-- occurs when "the register range in English if often quite limited and quite formal, and the lexical and topical repertoire is quite narrow...."

EFL--English as a Foreign Language--occurs when English "is studied as one of many foreign languages and serves little communicative function." (Judd, 1981: 60 -63)

Judd suggests that the functions form a continuum of language use, and that in many nations, where English was once used as an additional language, it is now becoming a language of wider communication. He singles out Japan, Indonesia, and Tanzania as examples of places where this is occurring.

Using Judd's framework, to categorize the position of English in a specific country, it would be possible to examine the correlation between the position of English in a particular nation and the policy decisions made with respect to the teaching of English. In the more than thirty-seven countries where language policy centers around English, knowledge of the present and future position of English as it relates to the development of these nations is crucial.

Judd suggests that "instructional programs that are compatible with the sociopolitical situations in which they are located are more likely to succeed, while those that are in conflict with the English language policy of a given country run a greater chance of failure." (Judd, 1981: 63) William Lee adds further support for a policy of English language teaching based on local interests and needs. (1982) Robert Underwood posits a need to examine more closely the role of English in a society planning for language survival. He suggests that ESOL instructors spend a large amount of their professional efforts on transferring communicative competency in one language to English, and that as a result, they are often perceived as a "highly trained vanguard, a Fifth Column of language assimilators." (1982) The language they teach is

sometimes perceived as a language to be used for purposes of concealment, misrepresentation, or even harm. (Lee, 1982) In William Lee's apt terminology, English is often perceived as a VFL: very foreign language!

Underwood cautions planners to avoid deception by no longer referring to the myths that learning English will cause economic difficulties to disappear, enable one to ascend the educational ladder of success, and will provide an answer to rising social ills. This is a rather bold proposal considering Fishman's acknowledgement that LWC's must "provide (or promise to provide) entree to scarce power and resources or there would be little reason for indigenous populations to adopt them for intergroup use, or, by extension, for certain subsequent intragroup use as well." (Fishman, 1977: 114). He mentions at least three of the reasons Underwood cites as "subversive": entree to better positions as being of major importance, entree to useful specialized knowledge, entree to more effective tools, entree to more influential contacts, access to more desirable consumer goods, and access to more satisfying "high-culture" behaviors. (Fishman, 1977: 115)

Underwood raises a number of policy implementation questions regarding the teaching of English. Like Levin and Judd, he sees a close link between ethical commitments of educators and their perceptions of their roles in the education process in developing nations. He criticizes ESL instructors for three things: their tendency to ignore the role of small languages in their sociocultural milieu, their consistent segregation from other foreign and second language instructors, including those involved in bilingual education, their ignorance of the social implications of their work. Like Fishman, Underwood suggests that there is a major difference in knowing, learning, and liking English. (Fishman, 1977: 126)

Strevens suggests that perhaps a native speaker model of English is no longer the most applicable and useful model, and that perhaps ESOL instructors need to "accomodate /themselves/ to localized forms of English." (1982) He suggests that the TESOL organization may have to come to terms with the fact that non-native speakers of English and their needs and personal identities need to be met in their various language learning contexts. Within his alternative proposal for non-native speaker models of English, he recommends that mutual intelligibility be used as a guiding notion, and that perhaps we should aim for a standard English dialect used with a range of phonological variations that people can adjust themselves to. (Strevens, 1982)

Smith (1978) and Baxter (1980) have supported Strevens' suggestion. Baxter states: "It is becoming more and more apparent that a pedagogical model cannot afford to exclude the student-as-speaker, but that this speaker and his or her cultural reality must be present in this model from the beginning." (1980: 15) Suzuki explains that English is "the common property of all peoples of the world." (1979)

These pleas from professional language educators support Kelman's recommendation that "language policies ought to be based entirely on functional considerations...central authorities ought to be concerned primarily with two issues: 1) how to establish and facilitate patterns of communication...that would enable its socioeconomic institutions to function most effectively and equitably in meeting the needs and interests of the population, and 2) how to assume that different groups withing the society...have equal access to the system and opportunities to participate in it.." (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971: 40)

Yet within this set of humanistic goals, the constraints of specific language policies and planners may actually prevent their attainment. Fishman (1977) and Das Gupta (1976) point out that the policy planners are often among the elite--the economic and political successes. Fishman goes on to point out that "at the level of elitist planning for (or against) IWC spread, the presence or absence of overt ethnic or idealogical entanglement of the target language is obviously of importance." (1977: 119) He indicates that as the diffusion of English is more likely to be controlled by elites, its diffusion can be "encumbered, particularly during those periods of sociocultural development when host countries are experiencing heightened ethno-ideological concerns of their own." (Ibid: 121)

In many Third World nations, this is precisely the situation facing English language educators. Students, teachers, the community at large, as well as the language courses taught face an ethical dilemma with respect to national development and the teaching of English. Bresnahan describes a situation in the Philippines which is replicated the world over: "One may conclude then that the impact of turn-of-the-century American language policy on the Filipino linguistic identity has been multi-dimensional and paradoxical." (Bresnahan, 1979: 70)

According to Judd, if students have been forced to learn English, their performance and actual acquisition of English may be affected. Student goals and purposes for learning English may conflict with those of the instructor and the ministry of education. If instructors do not agree with a given language policy, it will be difficult for them to implement it. Yet often, as Aksornkool points out, instructors are unaware of current language policy decisions; they are thus unable to implement the decisions made at higher levels. (1982)

Baxter and Shreck point out that non-native instructors cannot and should not always follow the models of native speakers. Baxter states: "In Japan, the most appropriate pedagogical model would be one based on the Japanese speaker of English who is secure in his or her identity as an English speaker, and who is flexible enough to speak English internationally." (1980: 19) He goes on to explain that "choice of method is based on perceptions of self as a speaker of English, and of self as a teacher in an exceedingly complex environment constituted in part by social expectations and personal vulnerabilities." (Ibid: 4)

Shreck (1982) suggests that perhaps foreign specialists are not necessary in the planning process and that to meet Egypt's current policy with respect to the teaching of English, major changes are necessary in undergraduate teacher training curriculum. He suggests that innovations in the teaching of English need to be considered within the context of other innovations.

Relative to the community at large, Judd suggests that if there is a discrepancy between government policy and community support of the policy, the climate of instruction may be affected. (op. cit., 1978) Shreck also addresses the issue of language change, acknowledging that any change can be threatening to the welfare of the community. Judd further intimates that varying communities may perceive native speakers with hostility although English itself is liked. The ultimate success of a given program could depend on whether native speakers were employed or not. (Ibid: 78)

It is this hostility which often surfaces in English language programs with or without expatriate teachers in numerous Third World nations. Fishman

claims that "it is part of the relatively good fortune of English as an additional language that neither its British nor its American fountainheads have been widely or deeply viewed in an ethnic or ideological context for the past quarter century or so." (Fishman, 1977: 118) However, Emenyou and Hutchinson acknowledge that English is "the official language of government business and administration, the safe neutral noncommital lingua france, though its adoption for that purpose is deeply resented by many Nigerians." (Emenyou, 1982:2) Emenyou goes on to explain that

> This imprecise and often ambivalent definition of English creates problems for the English language teacher. It leads to ambiguous attitudes in the teachers as well as the learners towards the language. It also leads to confusion in pedagogical approaches to English as a subject and invariably results in half-measures taken to solve the problems of English language learning and teaching in Nigeria no matter how profound the analysis of such problems may be. (Ibid: 8)

He cites further Ubahakwe: "the varied and conflicting functions which the English language currently performs in Nigeria are at the root of our teaching and learning problems in the language." (1973)

In still another area, the Philippines, the emotion of the conflict Emenyou describes is eloquently captured by Nebres:

> We stand today before the question of language--it is a question of the acceptance or rejection of our own reality, of our own soul. We realize we are no more free to choose English over Pilipino than we are free to choose to be American rather than Filipinos. The mission for us is to be born again through a new language, the language of our people, the language of our land.
>
> (Pascasio, 1977: 3 - 8)
> English

From the perspectives of a number of native speaker language educators as well as from the perspectives of several non-native speaker language educators in their own native lands, we have seen that English language policy is a political and very emotional issue. Within the development

education field and in the areas of language planning and language policy, leading theoreticians have asked their colleagues to examine specific needs of specific learners and to make realistic commitments in terms of aid.

Judd has synthesized language teaching policies with implication for the teaching of English across the globe. Language educators like Fishman, Tucker, and Strevens have challenged the field to look carefully at in-country needs for English, using valid research measures. English will remain a language of wider communication.

If language teachers take up the challenge for effective, committed, long-range planning of the role of English across the globe which meets the specific needs of its learners, they will be using their resources effectively to achieve what Levin identifies as "economic progress, political freedom, and social justice." (Levin, 1981: 93)

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